The entrepreneurial spirit of the Pacific Peoples: A study of Pacific immigrant entrepreneurship in New Zealand

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Abstract

The difficulty associated with determining what constitutes immigrant entrepreneurial behaviour lies in the road being travelled differently by immigrants from dissimilar backgrounds, value systems, and cultural heritages. Migration and settlement issues present themselves in a multitude of different forms, depending on a complex and dynamic combination of the ethnic characteristics of the specific ethnic immigrant group and the receiving country's socio-economic infrastructure. This paper presents the findings of a case study-based approach to a description of the entrepreneurial spirit within Pacific People in New Zealand, an approach involving triangulation (semi-structured interviews with Pacific immigrant entrepreneurs; selected immigration literature, and interviews with Pacific community leaders). The case study is based on four constructs (migration profile, settlement profile, cultural profile and business profile) which were identified as impacting on immigrant entrepreneurship patterns. Conclusions relating to each of the following are presented: business drivers (e.g. generational differences and social obligation); business strengths (e.g. uniqueness, family, and community networks); and weaknesses that inhibit the entrepreneurial spirit (e.g. lack of confidence and social obligations).

Key words: Pacific Peoples, entrepreneurship, immigrant entrepreneurs, New Zealand

Introduction

On any given working day, Pacific people who have migrated to New Zealand are likely to be making decisions regarding the employment opportunities that are available to them. A major element of their social and economic adjustment to life in New Zealand is tied to the status attained through some form of employment - which impacts on their family viability, social acceptance and personal esteem. One approach to satisfying this need is to engage in entrepreneurial activity. A major conclusion of the international literature on ethnic minorities is that entrepreneurial activity is a promising springboard for immigrants' social integration, reinforcing their economic position and social status (e.g. Hunter, 2007; Masurel, Nijkamp & Vindigni, 2004). Furthermore, in many migrant receiving countries the level of immigrant entrepreneurship has trebled in the last two decades (Rath & Kloosterman, 2003). In fact, researchers have concluded that over the last 100 years immigrants were more likely to have been self-employed than their native born counterparts (Fernandez & Kim, 1998, p. 654). This trend towards high levels of immigrant entrepreneurial activity is not evident among the Pacific People in New Zealand, even though there are numerous examples of successful entrepreneurial activity among the Pacific community. Those who have chosen the self-employment option constitute 4.7% of the Pacific Peoples ethnic group, whereas 20.3% of Europeans and 17.6% of Asians are self-employed (in a country where 18% of the total resident population is

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involved in some form of self-employment) (Statistics New Zealand, 2006a).

In order to better understand the entrepreneurial patterns of the Pacific People of New Zealand, this paper explores the drivers and limiters that impact on their entrepreneurial behaviour in the context of the broader New Zealand society. Gaining an understanding of such behaviour is challenging as the drivers and limiters that affect an ethnic minority's entrepreneurial choices are often dynamic and complex. Furthermore, patterns of behaviour and decision-making may be unique to specific ethnic groups. As Krueger and Brazeal have observed, "entrepreneurial activity does not occur in a vacuum. Instead it is deeply embedded in a cultural and social context, often amid a web of human networks that are both social and economic" (1994, p. 230). The overall aim of the research reported here was to provide insight into the specific case of the Pacific Peoples of New Zealand. The importance of such a study is grounded in New Zealand's strong historical, geographical and economic ties to the Pacific Islands. Niue and Cook Islanders have New Zealand citizenship and many Samoan, Tongan, Tokelauan and Tuvalan Islanders have also made New Zealand their home. Following World War II, New Zealand needed workers for its factories and service sector. The indigenous people of the surrounding South Pacific proved a popular source of labour (Gough, 2006, p. 34). This demand remained high during the 1960s and 1970s. However, when New Zealand began to experience recession, Pacific People became the 'scapegoats' for many of society's problems and they suffered from high unemployment and discrimination. By the turn of the century, New Zealand's economic position had improved substantially and the Pacific community had become firmly established in its own suburban communities within the New Zealand societal infrastructure. In the years from 1991 – 2006, the Pacific community grew from 167,070 to 265,974 (from 5% to 6.9% of people in New Zealand). Two-thirds of this community lived in the Auckland region, half were of Samoan background, and six out of ten were New Zealand born (Statistics New Zealand, 2006b). Pacific Peoples now constitute the fourth largest ethnic group in New Zealand behind European at 67.6%, Māori at 14.4% and Asian at 9.2% (Statistics New Zealand, 2006c). The community is therefore well established in New Zealand, its cultural and economic impact is felt throughout society and the community is likely to continue to gain in importance with future generations.

The case study reported here is based on narratives from Pacific Island immigrants or their immediate offspring who have been engaging in entrepreneurial behaviour in New Zealand (referred to here as immigrant entrepreneurs (IErs)). The article ends with discussion of the strengths and weakness of Pacific immigrant entrepreneurship in New Zealand.

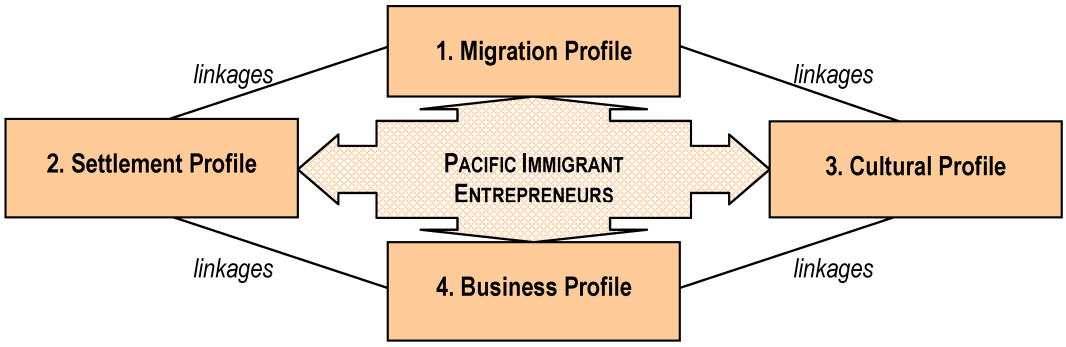
Methodology

This paper draws from a larger qualitative study (de Vries, 2008) that involved the development of an Immigrant Entrepreneurship Model through an inductive process utilising grounded theory. The original study was based on 77 semi-structured interviews with 42 immigrant entrepreneurs[1] who owned small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) in New Zealand. The study was undertaken over 18 months, within four heterogeneous ethnic groups (Chinese, Dutch, Indian, and Pacific Peoples) in New Zealand. The data was coded and indexed using thematic analysis, and NVivo data analysis software was used as a coding, retrieval and analysis tool during the theoretical development stage. The model's framework stressed four main constructs:

- The migration profile - which identified homeland characteristics of the IErs or their families, and their migration drivers.
- The settlement profile - which identified the influence of societal fit and social perceptions as they impacted on the IErs' business activity.
- The cultural profile – which identified personal, family, and cultural influences, and their impact on the IErs' business activity.
- The business profile – which identified the catalysts for entrepreneurial activity, the business drivers, human and financial capital capability, and the business philosophies of the IErs.

This paper attempts to apply the model to bring further understanding to the specific topic of Pacific immigrants engaged in entrepreneurship in New Zealand (see *Figure 1*).

Figure 1: *Model of Immigrant Entrepreneurship*



The case study reported here focuses on the nature of the entrepreneurial activity of Pacific Peoples in New Zealand, and is based on triangulated research undertaken from September 2005 to May 2007 consisting of: (1) eleven face-to-face or telephone interviews with Pacific immigrant entrepreneurs and seven follow-up interviews within this cohort; (2) two face-to-face interviews with community members who could comment from a Pacific community perspective: one a senior member of a business development organisation and the other a Pacific Affairs officer; (3) and finally a consideration of the relevant immigration and ethnic literature which is integrated into the following discussion.

The case study evidence is presented in a format based on the immigrant entrepreneurship model presented in *Figure 1*. The findings illustrate the unique dimensions of the four constructs - migration profile, settlement profile, cultural profile and business profile which evolved during the case analysis of the Pacific IErs.

Migration Profile

Homeland: The Pacific People of New Zealand come from numerous Pacific Islands, and with this geographic diversity comes a strong sense of cultural and demographic distinctiveness among the various Pacific communities (e.g. Gough, 2006, p. 35). Nevertheless, a sense of unity in diversity among Pacific IErs with regard to the challenges they faced in establishing themselves in a new country was evident in the interviews. With respect to migration, the first generation Pacific IErs came from 'rural' Island backgrounds, while the second generation was New Zealand-born, coming from urban (city) backgrounds. The evidence of the full immigrant

entrepreneurship study (de Vries, 2008, p. 82) suggests that urban (homeland)-to-urban (New Zealand) migration was the most compatible with entrepreneurial activity. First generation Pacific migrants fitted the rural-to-urban profile, whereas the second generation (New Zealand-born) fitted the urban-to-urban profile. It is, therefore, not surprising that urban-based second generation Pacific people appeared to have a higher business orientation than their rural first generation counterparts.

Interpersonal/family dynamics: Pacific IErs in this case study were generally from large families and varying homeland work backgrounds. Many second generation New Zealand-born IErs reflected on their experience of both parents working long hours to establish themselves in New Zealand, as in *"I think my mother started by cleaning floors in Auckland hospital, she didn't know what a mop was, and my father he was sweeping floors so that was factory work."* This perspective was also highlighted by Jennings (1997, p. 25), who said of her childhood: *"She [mother] worked as a nurse aide and, as soon as we got home from school, she'd be dressed and ready to go to work. . . . My father was a labourer and he was working two jobs, he was seldom home."* Religious beliefs were identified by all Pacific IErs as influencing their daily lives, as in *"I'm a Christian and for my personal life I always have a quiet time with God"*. Religion was identified as being fundamental to their family and community roots: *"[We] go to church and support each other that way through the church ministry."* To highlight the interconnected nature of faith, family and community, one community commentator drew attention to the example of a Catholic church in Christchurch which was predominantly patronised by a congregation made up of people from the same village/family.

Migration drivers: Having an established family network in New Zealand was a strong motivating factor for the decision by many of the Pacific IErs or their parents to migrate. Fletcher (1999, p. 61) found that, within the Pacific community, individuals came first and would then be followed by other family members seeking employment, thus creating a 'snowball' effect. As one of the community commentators observed, many migrants who came from village subsistence settings needed New Zealand contacts in order to facilitate migration. Another of the community commentators confirmed this observation, noting that first and foremost migrants relied on their families to help them out, and therefore congregated in areas where family or village members were most strongly represented. In New Zealand, this ultimately manifested itself in the development of urban enclaves such as those found in South Auckland.

The overwhelming personal driver for Pacific IErs or their immigrant parents was the perception that they would achieve a better quality of life. As one of the community commentators noted, resources at home were limited and so Pacific people came to New Zealand in search of better opportunities. Because of the lack of opportunity in the Islands, the decision to migrate was often a fairly easy one for those who had family contacts in New Zealand and the likelihood of job opportunities. Nine of the study participants referred to the 'quality of life factor' through references to the desire for better career and educational opportunities. Some second generation New Zealand-born Pacific IErs felt that their parents had migrated to give them greater opportunities: *"They came here pretty much for us to get an education."* This was confirmed by one of the community commentators: "*They had a dream that their kids would be academically successful."* Gough (2006, p. 35) stated that prestige was

associated with migrating, living abroad, earning an income, and also being able to support family back home. However, homeland dissatisfaction did not appear to be a significant driver for Pacific IErs or their parents. Many spoke of idyllic island settings, noting that migration (as indicated earlier) was purely an issue relating to family or betterment. The 'pull' factor was therefore highlighted in this study: New Zealand beckoned with a higher standard of living, job opportunities in factories and the service sector, and a western education system. This is consistent with Gough's (2006, p. 32) observation that the South Pacific now has a culture of emigration, with the lives of Pacific people being increasingly embedded in their international mobility.

Settlement Profile

Arrival: The case study identified the fact that Pacific IErs were either born in New Zealand cities or resided in a city on arrival in New Zealand. Eight of the eleven Pacific IErs interviewed remarked that they or their families had experienced difficulty with social integration in New Zealand, especially with respect to language, with comments such as the following:

> *My English and my knowledge is not good enough to achieve a better wages or another standard of living*
>
> *OK the first aspiration was to learn how to speak English a lot better*

Also emphasised was the changed living context: *"I mean, going from a village to city was actually quite different."* Participants also spoke of Pacific Peoples' limited economic means, thus appearing to confirm the 'social disadvantage theory' according to which Pacific People are held to be disadvantaged in New Zealand because they have neither the economic power and resources of the Pakeha, nor the moral claim to resources of the indigenous Māori (Poots, 1993, p. 130). However, one of the community commentators noted that coming from the Islands and living on a tight budget was nothing new for Pacific people. The vital role of the extended family in combating social disadvantage was highlighted by the community commentators and was often reflected in a strong sense of family obligation reported by Pacific IErs.

A further obstacle was the major challenge posed by transition from Island life to city life. As one community commentator said:

> *I could safely say that those that come from the smaller Islands get a fright with the transport in terms of the fast cars, trains and everything else that moves at a 100 miles per hour. In comparison to where they came from where people walked around.*

The difficulty posed by this transition could be ameliorated by strong family and community support networks and by living within enclaves, something that was emphasised by one of the community commentators who confirmed that overall it was easier for Pacific Peoples to establish themselves in Auckland because of the networks, critical mass and structures they now have in place to support new immigrants. This supports Gough's (2006, p. 34) contention that enclaves have been established as a result of the social and economic challenges faced by Pacific Peoples over the last few decades. This formation of enclaves manifests itself in communities

working together and pooling resources, much as they would have done back in their Island villages where they managed to survive as communities by taking advantage of whatever opportunities were on offer. Coupled with extended family and community ties (as discussed later in the cultural profile), enclaves have offered a safe option. It was, however, noted by one of the community commentators that this also had a potentially negative effect in that it limited broader New Zealand-based opportunities such as, for example, job opportunities in the rural sector. Interestingly, one of the case study findings is that some Pacific IErs no longer live within enclave environments and reside in the broader New Zealand community.

Social integration: Difficulty associated with fitting into New Zealand society was also intimated in experiences of discrimination experienced by Pacific IErs or their families (as reported by seven of the participants). Examples of comments are:

> *They [IEr's parents] came back one night and all the locks were changed and all their baggage and belongings were outside.*
>
> *I used to have huge bouts of tears over it, you know, because of the names that you would get called and that sort of thing.*

One of the community commentators lamented the fact that new immigrants would always experience discrimination, real or imagined, and that this would always be an issue. North and Trlin (2004, p. 32), in their study of immigrant businesses, also report examples of racial abuse and harassment related to immigrant status. Dunstan, Boyd and Crichton (2004, p. 111) note that although there is discrimination against the Pacific community in New Zealand, other ethnic minorities, such as the Chinese, experience greater discrimination. In connection with this, it is interesting to note that one Pacific IEr participant in this study said: *"I think there are pockets of resistance still, and I think a lot of that at the moment is aimed at Asians."* Pacific IErs, overall, reported that they were resigned to some level of discrimination. As one noted: *"So that is something we have accepted that happens. We don't like to see it but we know it's there"*. It was also noted, however, that they did not let it affect their business ambitions. This is in line with an observation by Jennings (1997, p. 26): *"I always regarded prejudice as someone else's problem – not mine"*. In fact, one of the community commentators noted that where discrimination occurred, it had often driven Pacific people to an even greater desire to succeed. The majority of Pacific IErs were satisfied with their own or their family's settlement, something that was endorsed by one of the commentators who said: *"I think they have done well. You had the bad old days of the 1970s when you had the dawn raids but I think since then we have gone and assimilated into New Zealand quite well. We are a lot more accepted."*

Employment: Some Pacific IErs or their parents entered into work immediately on arrival in New Zealand (n=5)[2]: *"My father was a church minister. He was invited to teach at a Tongan bible college here."*; *"They came during the boom time, I suppose, the industrial boom time of New Zealand when jobs were plentiful"*. Others, however, had difficulty finding employment or entering the education system. Pacific IErs did comment that Pacific people faced some discriminatory practices in the labour market in New Zealand, which was confirmed by a commentator who said:

> *It is still hard to find a job, even if well educated. There is the perception that*

> *migrants are not up to the standard. This is a challenge for the machinery in New Zealand to understand the Pacific, and Pacific communities understanding the machinery and how to get past it.*

The broader immigrant literature confirms that discrimination and social barriers are evident in labour markets worldwide (see, for example, Apitzsch, 2004; Benson-Rea & Rawlinson, 2003; Dunstan et al., 2004; Mace, Atkins, Fletcher, & Carr, 2005). Even so, there was no evidence of unrealistic job expectations among the Pacific IErs or their parents, hence work dissatisfaction was not an apparent driver of self employment (as it was among other ethnic groups within this study). This attitude of acceptance was summed up by one of the commentators: *"I suppose those that are well educated back in the Islands and come here with a degree, they all look for white collar work first off and if they can't find that they will look for blue collar work."*

Figures from Statistics New Zealand (2001b) indicate that the most common occupational classification for Pacific Peoples were plant and machine operators and assemblers (12,804), followed by service and sales workers (11,382), and clerks (110,107). All Pacific IErs in the study had fully integrated into the workforce (in both white collar and blue collar occupations) prior to their business ventures and thus had all experienced some form of employment in New Zealand. As a commentator said: *"We first try to find a job before getting into business."*

Perspectives of New Zealand: Overall, the Pacific IErs involved in this study felt that New Zealand was a good society to live in (n=7) - *"I mean I love New Zealand, I love the people, the culture and the country"* - although they did comment that some New Zealanders displayed a level of disrespect and intolerance. One commentator suggested that the cold was a negative factor for Pacific people, but conversely some Pacific IErs commented positively on their enjoyment of the clean, green environment. Even so, in spite of a generally positive response to New Zealand, Pacific IErs involved in this study did make reference to some infrastructural problems in New Zealand which affected integration and business capability (n=5): *"No country is perfect, every country in the world has good and bad people – New Zealand is no different."* In fact, however, one commentator suggested that the infrastructure was showing significant improvement so far as Pacific immigrants were concerned, citing the following example:

> *Some of the things we have addressed with New Zealand immigration is to enable our Pacific People to have a better understanding of the services available to them; have pamphlets, fliers, leaflets, whatever else at the airports in their specific languages. So if you got to Christchurch then here is a list of all the hospital, doctors, transport and all that stuff.*

Pacific IErs involved in the study suggested that Pacific people brought depth and diversity to the New Zealand cultural mix (n=8): *"Collectively we bring colour and art, music, all those cultural influences that are now becoming mainstream."* One of the commentators suggested that Pacific people also bring humour, humility and spirituality to the New Zealand mix. Another of the commentators referred specifically to the creativity Pacific business people bring to this country but lamented that this was not being utilised in New Zealand: *"We have 'NZ Inc' but we do not see in 'NZ Inc' the Pacific. 100 percent pure in the brand of New Zealand overseas but*

you don't see the Pacificness." This commentator went on to suggest that Pacific business people could make real contributions if their Pacificness was added to the New Zealand business framework, particularly in the form of unique products that could be exported around the world. This is in line with an observation by Janes (2006, p. E1), who highlighted the same issue with reference to the broader immigrant community, suggesting that the majority of New Zealand businesses are hesitant to use immigrants' natural capabilities and networks.

Cultural Profile

Personal perspective: Pacific IErs' values and beliefs were strongly influenced by religious affiliations (n=11). Some spoke freely of their personal faith, of the importance of their church, and of community connection through religious observance, as indicated in the following quotations.

> *That's through my faith, I am content with who I am, and because I know I am unique.*
>
> *The church played a very big part.*
>
> *He [son] still does the Sunday School thing . . . to still give him that bit of culture and a sense of how we were brought up, and not to lose the identity.*
>
> *I always have a quiet time with God.*

The commentators also reflected on the significant role religion plays in Pacific Peoples' lives with respect to family and community. The fact that the case analysis identified a lower desire for independence among Pacific IErs than other IErs in the full study may be a reflection of Pacific Peoples' stronger sense of community connection as opposed to individual material considerations.

Pacific IErs' achievement orientation reflected a strong 'internal locus of control' (n= 10) and was reflected in comments such as the following:

> *My feeling is that everybody can achieve anything if you really try hard enough and persevere.*
>
> *I think anywhere is a good place to live – really it is not the external things that make your life.*

They were very proactive in setting goals (n=9): *"It was setting a goal and I just focused on the goal and that's what really motivated me."* However, the dominance of a collective cultural predisposition may account for the fact that, in relation to the study as a whole, Pacific IErs showed the lowest level of determination and perseverance to succeed at an individual level (n=4). One of the commentators suggested that one reason for this is the fact that Pacific business people can lose focus over time as family, lifestyle and community obligations come to the fore.

Work ethic: This was revealed as a prominent feature for all Pacific IErs, the descriptors 'hard working' (n=7) and 'long hours' (n=11) being the most common themes in this category. Typical comments were:

> *But you've gotta do a lot of hard work.*
>
> *The newspaper, you know, started at 5:30 in the morning and you don't get home until maybe one the next morning.*

One of the community commentators confirmed this emphasis on hard work, noting that they did not know any successful Pacific business people who were not willing to put in long hours and make the commitment.

The relationship between ethnicity and work ethic is a difficult one to quantify. Indeed, it has been argued that the 'migrant factor' is a far more significant driver of immigrants' work ethic than is any particular ethnic predisposition: the work ethic underlies the search for social advancement as part of migrant transition (see, for example, Benson-Rea & Rawlinson, 2003; Whybrow, 2005). On the other hand, one of the commentators suggested that hard work was simply a trait of business people themselves rather than a reflection of any cultural or migrant traits. Irrespective of the precise nature of the motivators, the work ethic of the Pacific IErs was quite evident throughout the case study, one of the issues they identified in connection with this being the fact that long hours and hard work were often necessitated by a lack of capital. However, Pacific IErs were also generally aware of the trade-offs. As one of the commentators observed: *"Those that are motivated to go into business are willing to pay the cost."* Associated with the strong work ethic was a high level of stress among Pacific IErs (n=8), although the strength of their faith and their family relationships were perceived by them as being a way of reducing stress. Many Pacific IErs did comment on their desire to work fewer hours, and commentators raised the issue of whether there was a reduction of commitment over time:

> *Though one of the things we have seen is after one or two years, is effort still consistent? For some Pacific businesses one of the downfalls is they become distracted as business owners from what is the plan moving forward - putting in the hours, putting in the effort. And they start to think about other things, like wife's frequent trips back to the Islands and buying a nice new house. That's a trend I have noticed. Keeping on the course is a real challenge.*

One of the commentators expressed their belief that although current Pacific entrepreneurs had a strong work ethic, there were some concerns with the fact that this was less evident among some of the New Zealand-born, something that could be detrimental to overall entrepreneurial development of Pacific Peoples in New Zealand.

Family: Strong family focus was evident among all Pacific IErs, as reflected in a comment such as *". . . a very close family, so we did a lot of social activities together as a family."* Family unity was emphasised by the Pacific IErs: *"The family unit is, you know, the most important thing."* The commentators also highlighted the fact that family was critical to the Pacific Peoples' way of life. One commentator suggested that first priority was the church and then the family, while another reflected on the importance of family to business makeup. The Pacific IErs family focus included extended family (n=10), which, as Elliott and Gray (2000, p.17) have observed, represents a different concept from the Western concept of immediate family priority.

Most Pacific IErs took social obligations to their extended families seriously, as reflected in a statement such as: *"My nephews and nieces, I bring them here [office] as often as I can during the holiday, just to be around"*. This was also evidenced in attitudes towards the creation of job opportunities: *"Probably the main reason really is just to help family out, some of our [extended] family didn't have jobs"*. The fact that this approach reflects a cultural imperative, the bringing of traditional family patterns from their home island, is emphasised by both Douglas (2001, p. 206) and Jennings (1997, p. 25). As Elliott and Gray (2000, p. 28) note, obligations within Pacific families are extensive and the importance of family solidarity is reinforced by a number of informal sanctions and pressures that can be brought to bear on those who attempt to avoid their social and financial responsibilities to their kin. In what they refer to as the 'resource hypothesis', Elliott and Gray (2000, p. 9) note that economic necessity may be the rationale for family commitment, those with the fewest economic resources (such as migrant minorities) being most likely to live in extended family relationships when they emigrate.

Nearly all Pacific IErs had some sort of family member involvement in their businesses (n=9). As pointed out by one of the commentators: *"Family has an important part in the business makeup"*. Another said: *"Largely the workforce are family and extended family and those that come from the Islands"*. The Pacific IErs all stated that they preferred family involvement. They commonly had their spouse working in their businesses (n=7) and they highly valued their input: *"My wife working with me. In my various talks to the community about business I highly recommend that anybody that thinks of going into business on their own to have their partners, wives and husbands fully involved."* They reflected on the important dynamic that this brought to the business and noted its significance as a source of social capital. The family's usefulness as an informal source of labour has been noted by Elliott and Gray (2000, p. 9), Min and Bozorgmehr (2003, p. 27) and Salt (1992, p. 1079). However, although one commentator noted that he could see why they would want family working with them, he cautioned that *"they also take liberties that employees don't"*. This cautionary note was also reflected in the fact that Pacific IErs highlighted the challenges of family involvement, especially with regard to the difficulty involved in balancing family obligations against business expediency (n=10). For example, with regard to financial expectations, one IEr said, with reference to the family: *"They think I have a money tree out back!"* Conversely, Pacific IErs were the most likely of all of the groups involved also to identify the benefits of family (n=9), with comments such as:

> *I have their loyalty and I can trust them and I think if you can get that out of an employee that's fantastic . . .*
>
> *. . . reliability between ourselves and not having to think, you know, is he or she going to be there at work today or um be let down.*

The case study included a mix of both male and female Pacific IErs, the findings suggesting that the cultural element of male family line dominance was not a strong factor. Nevertheless, some did reflect on the prominence of fathers as the head of the family and the need to respect parents. They referred to the importance of the values transferred by their parents (n=9) with respect to work ethic and culture: *"I have been influenced a lot from Mum and Dad, mostly because of the way I was brought up. I*

see my parents, their faith". This accords with the observation by Elliott and Gray (2000, p. 17) that there is an emphasis in Pacific culture on wives obeying their husbands and on the enduring nature of the parent/child relationship, with this relationship enduring even after the 'child' marries and moves away from home. Thus, as Elliott and Gray (p. 17) note, even 'adult children' are still obliged to 'obey' and respect their parents. Even so, Pacific IErs involved in the full immigrant entrepreneurship study highlighted the importance of family teamwork and of the need for their children to develop independence, something that appears to indicate changing attitudes towards the traditional family authority line.

Expectations for children: There were examples during the case study of Pacific IErs having their children involved in the business, although they saw this as secondary to their children's educational development (n=9). Pacific IErs placed priority on education over work, as they saw it as fundamental to their children's independence and success: *"I'll send him to University and he will get a degree in business".* One of the commentators observed that Pacific IErs use business as a means of helping their children achieve academically. This appears to be consistent with Poot's (1993, p. 128) observation that second generation New Zealand-born Pacific people have higher educational qualifications and incomes than the Pacific-born. Poot (p. 136) then cites Larner and Bedford's study which demonstrates that New Zealand-born Samoan women, as a result of better education, tend to be more ambitious in terms of occupational mobility and tend to have better labour market networks than their parents. Some Pacific IErs reflected on the educational successes of the young people: *"In May we have the most Samoan students ever graduating from Otago University, it is fantastic. I hope that there are going to be more in the future of the second and third generation kids."* There were mixed views by Pacific IErs on whether business succession would occur or even whether it was a good thing. This may have been because of the fact that entrepreneurial enterprises are often at a relatively early stage of development. As one commentator said:

> *Not too many businesses getting to that point yet. We are still very early in our foundation of business. Although you look at families of entrepreneurs in the Pacific and they are all handed down through the families. It's common to happen, but we haven't got to that stage yet in New Zealand.*

National identity: As Pacific IErs in this case study were mainly second generation (n=8), they had New Zealand nationality coupled with a Pacific identity. In the words of one IEr: *"A New Zealand Pacific Islander, is that a fair call?"* As Gough (2006, p. 38) observes, there are challenges involved in maintaining both identities, in attempting to take advantage of what the 'new' world has to offer while remaining loyal to tradition and the homeland. Both the beliefs and actions of Pacific IErs reflected the fact that although adaptation has occurred in many aspects of the Pacific Peoples' way of life, there is not, as yet, full integration into New Zealand society. In fact, the Pacific community expects its members to maintain their distinctive identity whilst being a part of New Zealand society.

Ethnic Community: Pacific IErs emphasised the importance of a strong connection to the New Zealand Pacific community (n=9). Many (n=8) highlighted the ways in which they support the Pacific community in New Zealand. Gough's (2006, p. 36) reference to the 'obligation' or 'service' that is expected within the Pacific community

is reinforced by comments made by the Pacific IErs such as: *"We always had people coming through from the Islands, through our place and then moving on"*. Another aspect of this is willingness to take on leadership roles in the community: *". . . so it is a very high title for someone female as young as myself - to be privileged to actually have - so those are the things that do make an impact out in the Samoan community because I get addressed on the formality and that Samoan way"*. Particularly relevant here is the provision of support for the community through their businesses: *"If I can do something that will impact on that [Pacific community] whether it is through directly [IEr's business] or through some other avenue, I am committed to finding a way in which I can do that"*. However, Elliott and Gray (2000, p. 48) have suggested that links are weaker among the second generation who did not maintain kinship, family values and networks to the same extent as the Pacific Island born population. One of the commentators suggested that some Pacific IErs feared that discharging their social obligations would have a huge negative impact on their business resources, especially as there was often the belief that Pacific businesses had far greater financial resources to draw on than was actually the case. As one commentator noted: *"Some successful businessmen have drawn the line and said this is where I can help you and can't. It's not our business, it's my business."*

Ethnic characteristics: The case study revealed that Pacific IErs believed that the Pacific community had some identifiable characteristics. One of these was a need to be respectful (n=6): *"Just treating people respect - it's a big culture thing for all Pacific Islanders, you know, you respect people, respect your elders and that's a big thing that's going on in New Zealand."* As indicated earlier, Church was identified as important (n=7). One of the commentators said:

> *Like anything, you look for things that are familiar to you and because our churches have migrated to New Zealand it is a familiar structure. Many ministers are from your home country so you already have a relationship with them. It is a very familiar structure for you to become part of and you might struggle to become part of networks somewhere else*.

Also identified by IErs (n=6) as a characteristic was informality/ relaxation: *"I think we are a bit more laid back*". They were, however, sometimes critical of this characteristic within their community: *"I think they don't have a work ethic. I think they are too causal. I think in general they are a little bit too casual."*

Gough (2006, p. 35) has noted the importance of the ancient practice of reciprocity, a practice that is at the core of Pacific cultures. Underlying this practice is the belief that the welfare of the collective is paramount, more important than that of the individual. In such a context, an important characteristic is the fact that identity has a strong collective component. It is therefore not surprising that Pacific IErs commented on the association between culture and identity (n=6). For example, typical comments from the Samoan community were:

> *I was brought up with the typical Samoan way of life.*
>
> *One thing about Samoan community is that it doesn't matter where you are, you are a Samoan.*

This was confirmed by one of the commentators who said: *"For them [Pacific Community] identity and culture are very, very important."*

In discussion of how ethnic characteristics can translate into business strengths or weaknesses, the Pacific IErs identified what they perceived as some ethnic-related business strengths, including culturally grounded traits and values (n= 6) such as Pacificness, community, and creativity. Overall, however, they tended to focus more on the weaknesses of their communities with respect to business capability, seeing many cultural traits, such as casualness, pride and social obligation, as weaknesses (n=8). One commentator argued that cultural values can deter Pacific people from engaging in business because they often say that business is a Western concept. However, he went on to observe that because Pacific communities have traded amongst themselves for centuries, the concept of business should not be foreign to them. A'avua (2000, p. 185) has argued that the Pacific collectivist culture does not fit the New Zealand business model of individual success and personal acquisition. In relation to this, it is relevant to note that one of the commentators observed that the collectivist culture of sharing can lead to financial difficulties when it results in an inability to differentiate effectively between the individual and the collective.

Pacific IErs were also concerned with the lack of business knowledge within their community (n=7): *"A firmer knowledge on how to run a business properly or a firm appreciation of how important it is to set up properly, register GST, your financials, and accounting systems. That is a vital part of starting business".* Also of concern to them was the perception that there was a lack of the confidence necessary to engage in business (n=6): *"I think a lot of them undersell themselves as well."* Pacific IErs noted that this hindered Pacific community entrepreneurial activity, something that Dunstan et al. (2004, p. 125) believed accounted, in part, for lower levels of entrepreneurial activity among Pacific People than was evident in other ethnic groups. One commentator noted that this problem was compounded by the fact that Pacific business people were often too proud to seek advice, especially when they were having difficulties: *". . . so pride gets in the way - refusing to take advice – thinking they know all the answers. That's come through with a number of people we have worked with."*

Pacific IErs spoke of an emphasis on the English language in business and at home, with only a few emphasising the significance of bilingualism within their family (n=4). Even so, one commentator suggested that emphasis is being placed on mother tongues at a Pacific community development level (as opposed to a family level). Another commentator noted that although language is one of the pillars of identity and cultural retention and must be preserved and taught to other generations, the fact remained that business talks in the language of the dollar and that is not an ethnic concept.

Homeland connections: Pacific IErs had strong personal connections to their homeland (n=8): *"We have a very strong family connection – Samoans in general, we are very tight".* Although they noted the importance of the homeland family connection, few spoke of extending this to financial support of their homeland family (n=2). Even so, Poot (1993, p. 128) has claimed that remittances to homeland kin still play an important role in the Island economies. As one commentator noted:

> *In the old days when Pacific Islanders first came to New Zealand there was always the attitude - you come make a good living, then send money back to the Islands. Whether that still happens or not – I don't know- but I do know that the links back to the Islands are still very important.*

Although a second commentator stated that New Zealand's geographic proximity to the Pacific Islands and the traditional close relationships ensured that the Pacific People maintain their strong connection back home, Elliott and Gray (2000, p. 48) have maintained that an increasing number of New Zealand-born Pacific people have weaker links, or none at all, with their parent country and do not maintain kinship, family values and networks to the same extent as the island-born population. As one commentator observed:

> *It depends on the upbringing. If parents are quite strong culturally and they raise the kids where you still maintain the links back to the Islands, then yes it is still important to the offspring. At the end of the day they want to go back and visit anyway.*

The Pacific IErs had made regular visits to their homeland (n=8). Thus, for example, one said: *"Over the last ten years I have been over four times and Mum goes over every year"*. Some spoke of eventually returning to live in the Islands. Few business connections with the homeland were identified in the case study (n=3), although many Pacific IErs stated that they intended to establish business connections in the future (n=7) as part of what they saw as their social obligation. They made comments such as the following:

> *Well, later on down the track I am going to do business in Samoa.*

> *The reason for my next visit is to look at a business opportunity.*

Commentators argued that a homeland business connection was contingent on business success in New Zealand, with one commentator stating that the trend is for successful Pacific IErs in New Zealand to replicate this success in their home country or to invest in other businesses.

Business Profile

Personal drivers: Financial considerations, specifically material rewards and security (n=5), were business drivers for Pacific IErs. Gough (2006, p. 35) has argued that Pacific Peoples' desire to improve their financial position is, unlike that of Westerners, driven by collective rather than individual needs. Many Pacific IErs did claim that personal wealth beyond financial security was not a driving force (n=4). In fact, social acceptance through such factors as business reputation (n=4) and sustainability (n=5) rated highly in the case study. Thus, for example, one of the Pacific IErs said: *"I guess for me to be successful, not money wise, but to be a successful person, a father, and integrate into society."* The Pacific IErs expressed a high level of desire for autonomy and personal responsibility (n=7), with comments such as:

> *. . . being able to choose really, whether you want to work or not*

> *. . . to create my own opportunities, be accountable to myself*

As one commentator expressed it: *"Many Pacific people are sick and tired of 'working for the man'."* Pacific IErs had a high need for challenge and achievement (n=8): *"I've always been after a challenge"*. In this connection, the material wealth motive *did* arise: they wanted to be rewarded for their efforts.

Overall, the characteristics referred to above do not appear to be consistent with the collectivist cultural trait and low business confidence identified in the broader Pacific community (as discussed previously). On the other hand, gaining a quality lifestyle for themselves and their family was also identified as being very important to Pacific IErs (n=7) as reflected in comments such as the following:

> *It's about being able to create a lifestyle for our children and ourselves.*
>
> *. . . so it was at that point I realised that if she [competitive swimming daughter] was going to be able to travel we needed to be self employed. And that's where it all kicked off really.*

Pacific IErs had, in addition, a desire to contribute to their ethnic community (n=5): *"I firmly believed that I had something to offer and could contribute to the community.* They also believed in helping the extended family through job creation or other forms of business success (n=6): *"Probably the main reason really is just to help family out – some of our family didn't have jobs"*. These characteristics appeared consistent with Pacific Peoples' collective culture and can be viewed in the light of the insistence by one of the commentators that the family is still the main motivation for Pacific people becoming involved in business as a way of discharging their social obligations.

External catalyst: Although the case study identified little evidence of 'forced' entrepreneurship, disadvantages associated with language, discrimination and employment dissatisfaction did influence some levels of decision making among the IErs (n=5). One commentator argued for a concept of 'necessity entrepreneurship' (as opposed to forced entrepreneurship), suggesting that IErs felt that starting a business was the only way of earning enough money to discharge their social obligations: *". . . like supporting the church more, looking after the family more, answering cousins when they call from the Islands. . . . They cannot support it by being a factory worker, so there is no other way to discharge social obligations."*

For Pacific IErs, the importance of social networks was highlighted as a major factor in undertaking entrepreneurial activity. Their social capital factors were the emotional, financial and labour support of family (n=7), and help and interaction with colleagues and friends (n=8): *"My family [overseas] offered me some money, so when I came back we managed to buy a van and we started from there"*. These factors strongly influenced the decisions of Pacific IErs to go into business. Non-family influences included forming partnerships with colleagues or acquaintances: *"I started that off with my business partner"*. Also relevant was financial or resource assistance: *"The general manager gave me the opportunity to actually start my own business while still working under the [IEr's employer] umbrella."*

Pacific IErs (n=6) also demonstrated the ability to seize opportunities when they were

presented: *". . . and the business fell over and there was an opportunity to buy into that business. It didn't cost me anything because it had been run right down to the ground and owed a lot of money."* In seizing opportunities, they often identified niches within their community, ethnic or multi-cultural. As a commentator observed: "*They go about finding a niche in the market and knowing they have that certain area they then go into business."*

Learning: The case study revealed the fact that fewer Pacific IErs had completed any form of University or Polytechnic study than members of the other groups in the full study or the general New Zealand population. Even so, Pacific IEr's qualifications were significantly higher than those of the general Pacific population in New Zealand. One of the commentators noted that Tongans and Samoans lead the way for other Islanders in the business sense, and suggested that Tongans have the highest educational levels and the most entrepreneurs. Most of the Pacific IErs did not have tertiary level qualifications. However, most (n=10) were involved with post-business formal education, something that suggested that Pacific IErs were aware of a positive link between formal education and business capability. The Pacific IErs had a significant amount of relevant practical experience (n=8), having either been previously employed in a position of direct relevance to their business or having some other relevant in-depth knowledge of the industry. They saw this experience as vital to their success. Typical comments were:

> *With my connection I had built up in the timber industry I didn't have any problems getting accounts with a number of small suppliers.*
>
> *I don't think the boss was the fairest person but I did definitely learn a lot – took a lot on board.*

Pacific IErs were unanimous in their view that there was a need for considerable 'learning on the job' once they became self-employed (n=11): *"You make the wrong decisions - I mean - just as long as you learn from it, that's the key."*

The perception of Pacific IErs was that practical experience was more important than education as a prerequisite for their entrepreneurial activity: *"I am more a street smart person than book smart".* Even so, they did rate formal education highly. In connection with this, one of the commentators reflected on the need for applied education, suggesting that although the Pacific IErs understood their trades well, they needed the skills required to pay taxes and keep their books (rather than academic qualifications). Another commentator summed up the position as follows: *"Pacific Islanders are practical people, very much hands-on. . . . However, you need both, you need the academic background to succeed, but you need practical sense as well".* The Pacific IErs appearing in this case study were effectively managing both needs: they had gained practical experience and had supplemented or were supplementing this with some form of relevant education.

In addressing the academic and practical needs of setting up and running their businesses, Pacific IErs generally used some form of professional or peer support. Accountants (n=8) were highlighted as the most useful professionals, although other business professionals were also used (n=6). For example, one IEr observed: *"I have an executive coach".* The input and skills of spouses (n=6) was also rated highly: *"If*

I didn't have her there just answering the phones and helping with the paperwork . . . . I don't think the business would be here if we didn't do this together."

The case study identified the fact that the Pacific IErs (n=9) were inclined to talk with and seek advice from their peers (as business people of any ethnicity tend to do) and community members whom they respected. However, as has already been noted, commentators suggested that less successful Pacific IErs allowed pride to get in the way of asking for help or support. One commentator said that Samoan business people would seek help *"only as a last resort":*

> *Samoans are always too humble to ask for help even if they know their business is going under or failing. That is largely due to pride: 'No I'm fine, I'll get myself out of this crap.' They keep going and going until they find they can't go any further.*

Another of the commentators noted that Pacific people have difficulty accessing appropriate advice before entering into business because of the lack of business networks in their community:

> *They don't know any accountants or anyone who owns a business. So we are still trying to develop that connectedness. So those are the kind of barriers we need to work our way through – actually knowing the people who are in business or knowing something about business.*

Although the Pacific IErs in this case study have demonstrated the ability to overcome issues such as these, they do have a far reaching impact on the business capability of the broader Pacific community.

Role models: Pacific IErs (n=10) spoke of being inspired by others. Parents rated highest as role models (n=6) For example: "*She [mother] always inspired us to be the best that we can be . . . . Yeah a very strong woman, and never settled for less. I guess I've got a lot of her in me."* Many Pacific IErs (n=6) saw themselves as role models for others in their ethnic community: "*So it is nice when people come up to me and say 'You have done really well, can you come and talk to our group of women' and I say yeah, sure, not a problem."* The Pacific IErs who did not view themselves as role models were often unknowingly a visible face in their community, as the comments of one IEr demonstrate:

> *I'm on the board of trustees for three charitable trusts for youth in West Auckland. I'm rebuilding a Christian camp in Rotorua and habitat for humanity building house for people who otherwise wouldn't have a home. And so it keeps me humble.*

Financial practices: Pacific IErs identified the need to be responsible and organised with money matters (n=8): *"I've never been good with money and all that, but at the end of the day money makes the world go around and you need to know where you are at with accounts and bits and pieces."* Some stressed that careful management of finances needed to be in place from the start up: *". . . proper structure, financial records and processes set in place right from the very beginning".* Others, however, noted that community expectations in respect of the discharge of social obligations

(family, extended family, church and community) could put pressure on businesses. The commentators highlighted the fact that managing capital needs was a significant issue for Pacific Peoples.

Within the context of this case study, capital was often sourced from personal or family money, including money lent by overseas family members (n=7) and was reflected in comments such as:

> *I was lucky because my dad had faith and belief in me. My first business he loaned me the money and I'd just paid him back on the monthly basis.*
>
> *I had time to go to the States and see my family there and they offer me some money. So when I came back we managed to buy a van and we started from there.*

Three Pacific IErs noted that they needed very little capital to start their venture, so financing was not an issue. Banks were generally not the first source of finance. In fact, four Pacific IErs involved in this study discussed the difficulties they had in attempting to obtain funding from banks and only three appeared to have been successful in securing start up capital from a bank. When asked about difficulties connected with obtaining capital, one of the commentators observed that he believed that this was often used as an excuse: *"You hear that complaint a lot. But you can get any great idea off the ground with little capital if you have your thinking right. 'If I have nothing in the bank how do I start?' is the thinking needed. There are ways to access business – it's a mind set."* Nevertheless, Pacific IErs did identify financial pressures (n=3), profitability (n=3), and lack of capital (n=3) as major issues in establishing and growing their businesses. This was often compensated for through working long hours and support of family and community networks, although, as indicated earlier, discharging community obligations could also create financial burdens if not managed carefully.

Business activity: The case study identified a service industry dominance (n=10) and a predominance of 'one site' businesses, although no particular industry sector dominated. There was a mix of ethnic market-based and New Zealand market-based businesses. One commentator stated that generally Pacific IErs preferred to sell to their own community to test the waters and then expand into the broader New Zealand market. Duncan, Bollard and Yeabsley (1997, p. 57), however, have warned against making any strong claims about any typical ethnic business focus in New Zealand in the absence of a critical mass with respect to the size of the economy or the size of migrant groups. In fact, one of the commentators suggested that business focus differs throughout the country. For example, whereas Auckland-based Pacific IErs could focus initially on selling to their community, in a city such as Christchurch, which has a small Pacific population, IErs needed to focus on selling to a broader market from the outset. Only three Pacific IErs identified any international focus for their businesses. So far as business type is concerned, whereas one commentator noted that Pacific people were very active in hands-on type businesses (such as carpentry and engineering), another referred to the fact that they were very active in the creative sectors (such as graphic design and communications) and generally sought business opportunities where they could commercialise their personal skills. The reality is, no doubt, that Pacific people are likely to begin by taking advantage of whatever

opportunities are available to them, with personal preference becoming a motivator only when they are more firmly established in their host country.

The Pacific IErs in this study began with small start-up businesses (n=10), with four having bought established businesses. One of the commentators noted that starting small was a common approach for Pacific business owners. All of the Pacific IErs involved in the study expressed a desire to grow their businesses. With reference to this, it is relevant to reiterate here that the case study highlighted risks associated with social obligations and loss of focus as possible impediments to growth. As one IEr commented: *"We seem to have a limitation. We seem to be able to grow to a certain size and then it all seems to unravel."*

Honesty, integrity and fairness were highlighted by many Pacific IErs (n=7) as part of their business philosophy:

> *I mean my father, one of the things he always says is 'If a job is worth doing, it is worth doing well' and it doesn't matter what you do you've got to be able to get up in the morning and look at yourself in the mirror and like what you see.*

Respect and faith also rated as important, as did customer focus and word of mouth:

> *I never focused on the money. I always focused on the service that I deliver to people*.
>
> *It's just through the grapevine that people have heard about us*.

The study identified a prominence of Pacific entrepreneurial activity among second generation New Zealand-born (n=8). One of the commentators regarded this as a natural evolution:

> *In the first wave of migration we were looking for a better life and employment was that chance – so that was the first step. We spent the first wave teaching our children and now we have a second wave of Pacific migrants that are coming through that are already educated together with those that are second generation New Zealanders now starting to look beyond employment. . . . It is part of the natural journey for any migrant community - the evolution and where we go to. Our young people are coming through well qualified and experienced through other businesses, and now wanting to start their own.*

This evolution may still be in its infancy (see Statistics New Zealand, 2006a). As another of the commentators said:

> *We are still early on in our foundation of business. . . . Studies have been done that suggest by 2050 half of the New Zealand population will be brown. So in 2050 the profile of New Zealand will be brown, well paid, and businesslike, if we are to be prosperous. But people in New Zealand have not bought into that idea, when in fact the number of Pacific People in business in the next 20 years will determine how well we do as a country in the future."*

Conclusion

The Pacific community is well established in New Zealand, its cultural and economic impact is felt throughout society and it is likely that its entrepreneurs will continue to grow in importance with future generations. Currently, entrepreneurs are predominantly found among second generation, New Zealand born Pacific people, and overall entrepreneurial activity is lower than that of the general New Zealand population. In an attempt to understand some of the complexities of Pacific entrepreneurship, this paper has offered a profile of a sample of Pacific entrepreneurs in the belief that there is a need for greater understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of Pacific entrepreneurship.

The case study profile of Pacific Island immigrant entrepreneurship indicates that these Pacific IErs are predominantly from island or New Zealand lower-middle socio-economic backgrounds. They began as employees and developed into entrepreneurs at a later stage. They generally came from large families and had strong religious affiliations. These Pacific IErs historically came from a Pacific people characterised by a cultural tradition of island migration, strong family or community support in New Zealand, and the desire to seek improved quality of life through career and educational opportunities. They were hard working, had an internal locus of control, and felt a strong obligation to care for extended family and to respect their parents. Their educational levels were higher that those of the general Pacific population in New Zealand, but were nevertheless lower than those of other ethnic groups in the full study. They placed emphasis on practical experience but realised the importance of education in achieving business success. They sought out and made use of professional advice, although a Pacific community tendency to be too proud to ask for help was identified. Parents were strong role models for Pacific IErs, and they also believed it was important to act as Pacific role models themselves. Their businesses were predominantly service-orientated and many had strong ethnic community focus, with little or no international activity. They started small and were focused on growth, with strong relationship and customer focus. Family involvement in Pacific IErs businesses was high, which they viewed as having benefits (trust and loyalty) and drawbacks (financial drain and loss of focus), yet their priority was that children should be well educated rather than that they should be extensively involved in family business. Pacific IEr entrepreneurs also emphasised the importance of strong Pacific Island community connections. They often made reference to the need to discharge their social obligations and to the social pressures driving this need, referring sometimes to the challenges associated with attempting to balance business practicalities with the resource drain involved in discharging their social obligations. Most Pacific IErs were New Zealand citizens but maintained their historical cultural identity. They had strong personal connections, but few business connections, to their homeland.

The study highlighted the importance to the entrepreneurial activity of these Pacific IErs of family and community networks as a source of emotional, labour and financial support. A strong connected Pacific community was viewed as critical to Pacific people's economic and social development in New Zealand, and Pacific IErs played an essential role in this. However, there was also evidence of pride in the unique Island identity of the different island countries. The study identified Pacific IErs as people who looked to seize niche market opportunities within their community and who often brought a unique Pacific quality to business activity. Pacific IErs saw their

people's cultural traits as both a strength (e.g. creativity and community) and a weakness (e.g. casualness and losing focus) when engaging in business. A significant challenge to business growth was the fact that that many Pacific IErs were looking to develop their businesses while simultaneously discharging their social obligations, which at times presented difficulties associated with attempts to balance family, community and business needs. Also identified was the fact that the current low level of Pacific entrepreneurship can be attributed, at least in part, to Pacific Island immigrants' preference for being employees, the need for a greater critical mass of Pacific business activity and more business role models, the lack of business knowledge and confidence and unwillingness to ask for help. However, among the New Zealand born Pacific IErs in the study, these limiting factors were less evident. These people were characterized by higher educational levels, more networking, and, overall, a higher level of entrepreneurial activity than was evidenced in those born in the Islands. A higher level of understanding of the entrepreneurial characteristics, strengths and weaknesses of Pacific people may operate as a positive driver of increased entrepreneurial activity within the Pacific community in New Zealand in the future.

Endnotes

1. In the context of this study, immigrant entrepreneurship has been defined as: immigrants or their immediate offspring who have a specific ethnic identity, and who create work place settings for themselves and others within their receiving country. Whilst the term 'immigrant' implies 'migrating peoples', it is noted that the definition has been extended to include New Zealand-born second generation for a number of reasons. Firstly, this is because the grounded theory approach of theoretical sampling drew on second generation entrepreneurs. Secondly, the extended definition takes into account the 'immigrant factor' and cultural influence that are often very strong across generations within ethnic minority groups, and impacts on the minority groups, and that impact on entrepreneurial behaviours of their community (e.g. Butterfield, 2004; Dhaliwal & Kangins, 2006; Peters, 2002). Thirdly, it gives a stronger longitudinal perspective of immigrant adaptation and their entrepreneurial participation in New Zealand.

2. Note that n=5 refers to five of the Pacific IEr participants in the study.

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